

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00

SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 CU-02 ACDA-05 SAJ-01 SAM-01

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2412

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 2957

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJ: CSCE POLICY: DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES -  
INTRODUCTORY PHRASE

1. SUMMARY. DISCUSSION OF INTRODUCTORY LANGUAGE, LEADING FROM DECLARATION PREAMBLE INTO THE PRINCIPLES, HAS REACHED POINT WHERE DECISION MUST BE MADE ABOUT CHARACTERIZING PRINCIPLES AS "PRINCIPLES GUIDING RELATIONS." DEPARTMENT HAS, WE BELIEVE, RECENTLY BEEN CHARACTERIZING PRINCIPLES IN THIS FASHION, TO REFLECT NON-LEGAL NATURE OF THE PRINCIPLES. IF CONCEPT IS TO APPEAR ANYWHERE IN TEXT EXCEPT TITLE OF DECLARATION, IT MUST, LOGICALLY, BE AT END OF INTRODUCTORY PHRASE. THIS WOULD INVOLVE TACKING IT ON AFTER, OR IN PLACE OF, USSR PROPOSAL: "PRINCIPLES OF PRIMARY SIGNIFICANCE." PENDING RECEIPT OF GUIDANCE, WE WILL KEEP THE QUESTION OPEN. DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE REQUESTED. END SUMMARY.

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2. PRINCIPLES SUBCOMMITTEE IS NOW DISCUSSING KEY

PARAGRAPH FOR TRANSITION FROM PREAMBLE INTO PRINCIPLES  
THEMSELVES, ON BASIS OF FOLLOWING IDEAS AND CONCEPTS:  
(PARENTHESES INDICATE WORDS OR PHRASES IN DISPUTE).  
QUOTE. (SOLEMNLY) DECLARE ...(1)...THEIR DETERMINATION  
TO RESPECT AND (STRICTLY) PUT INTO PRACTICE...(2)...  
(EQUALLY AND UNRESERVEDLY) IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH ALL  
OTHER (PARTICIPATING) STATES, IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR  
POLITICAL, ECONOMIC OR SOCIAL SYSTEMS...(3)...THE  
FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES (OF PRIMARY SIGNIFICANCE) END QUOTE.

3. WORDS "OF PRIMARY SIGNIFICANCE", PROPOSED BY  
SOVIETS, HAVE JUST BEGUN TO BE DISCUSSED IN SUBCOMMITTEE.  
NATO CAUCUS DISCUSSIONS SHOWED THAT SOME ALLIES INTEND  
TO PUT THESE WORDS IN BRACKETS PENDING RESOLUTION OF  
EQUAL VALUE FINAL CLAUSE. EVEN THEN, UK MAY INSIST  
THAT WORD "ALL" BE INSERTED BEFORE "OF PRIMARY SIGNI-  
FICANCE" TO SHOW THAT PHRASE RELATES TO INTERRELA-  
TIONSHIP OR EQUALITY OF PRINCIPLES NOT PRIMACY OF  
PRINCIPLES OVER OTHER DOCUMENTS. THIS MAY BE SENSITIVE  
POINT FOR USSR. US DEL, IN VIEW OF DEPARTMENT'S  
INTEREST IN CHARACTERIZING PRINCIPLES AS "PRINCIPLES  
GUIDING RELATIONS" HAS RHETORICALLY ASKED USSR, DURING  
INITIAL BRIEF SUBCOMMITTEE DISCUSSION OF THIS POINT,  
WHY USSR PROPOSAL HAS SEPARATED WORDS "OF PRIMARY  
SIGNIFICANCE" FROM BLUE BOOK CONTEXT, PARAGRAPH 19,  
"OF PRIMARY SIGNIFICANCE GUIDING" THEIR MUTUAL  
RELATIONS. SOVIET REPLY WAS THAT "MUTUAL RELATIONS"  
CONCEPT WAS TREATED EARLIER IN SENTENCE. CONCEPT OF  
"PRINCIPLES GUIDING RELATIONS" APPEARS IN SOVIET AND  
YUGOSLAV DRAFT DECLARATION TITLE, AND FRENCH DRAFT  
USES "GUIDED" IN APPLYING THE DECLARATION TO NON-  
PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES. OTHERWISE CONCEPT  
IS ABSNET.

4. IN VIEW OF ABOVE SITUATION, IT WILL BE NECESSARY  
FOR US TO TAKE LEAD, POSSIBLY COMPLICATING DRAFTING OF  
THE INTRODUCTORY PHRASE, IF THE TEXT OF THE DECLARA-  
TION IF TO DESCRIBE THE PRINCIPLES AS "PRINCIPLES  
GUIDING RELATIONS." WE ARE PREPARED TO DO SO IF  
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DEPARTMENT ATTACHES IMPORTANCE TO THIS POINT. IN  
MEANTIME, WE HAVE SET STAGE FOR SUCH AN EFFORT BY  
RAISING QUESTION AT OUTSET OF SUBCOMMITTEE DEBATE.  
AT NEXT MEETING, WE WILL PROCEED TO SEE IF INCLUSION OF  
CONCEPT PROVOKES STRONG OBJECTIONS. WE WOULD, HOWEVER,  
APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE ON TREATMENT OF THIS  
CONCEPT.

5. FOR DEPARTMENT'S INFO, OTHER ISSUES ON THIS TEXT  
ARE: (A) INCLUSION OF WORD "SOLEMN" FROM SOVIET AND

YUGOSLAV DRAFTS, WHICH WEST IS OPPOSING ON GROUNDS OF  
BALANCE WITH BASKET III PREAMBLE; (B) INCLUSION OF  
REFERENCE TO UN CHARTER OR PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES OF  
THE UN, AS WELL AS ISSUE OF PLACEMENT AT (1) OR (2)  
IN ABOVE TEXT, (C) YUGOSLAV DESIRE TO ADD AT (3)  
VARIOUS OTHER FACTORS SUCH AS SIZE AND GEOGRAPHY;  
(D) YUGOSLAV INSISTANCE ON EQUALLY AND UNRESERVEDLY,  
WHICH OTHER DELS FEEL CAN BE REFLECTED ELSEWHERE IN  
DECLARATION; (E) ROMANIAN (INEVITABLY) INSISTENCE ON  
WORD "STRICTLY", AND (F) YUGOSLAV OPPOSITION TO LIMITING  
SCOPE TO "PARTICIPATING" STATES.

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